

THE
 LIFE
 OF
 HORACE,
 WITH
 Dr. BENTLEY's
 PREFACE,
Latin and English.

*Persons profess no greater, or it may be they will
 say, less Veneration for the sacred Hymns, than
 for the profane Songs of Anacreon or Horace.
 Bentley's first Sermon at Boyle's Lecture, p. 1.*

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THE
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OF
HORACE.

Written by *Suetonius.*

HORACE was of *Venusium*, and, as he says himself, Son of a Free-Man, who had been a Collector of Taxes; but he was thought to have been the Son of one who dealt in Puddings and Sausages, because a certain Person one Day scolding at him, said to him, *How often have I seen your Father wipe his Nose with his Elbow?* In the *Philippick War*, *Brutus* drew him into his Party, and made him a Tribune in his Army. After the Defeat of that Army, he bought the Secretary of the Exchequer's Place. The first Thing he aspir'd to was to get into the good Graces of *Maecenas*, which he soon obtain'd

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and then he insinuated himself into the Favour of *Augustus*, and ever after had a considerable place in the Heart of that Prince, and in that of his chief Minister. The Friendship which this Favourite had for him, abundantly appears in these Verses: * *My dear Horace, if I don't already Love you, as much as I do my own Bowels, I wish you may see me as dry and wither'd as Hinnus.* But his Affection for him appears yet more in that little Sentence which he wrote to *Augustus*, when he was on his Death-Bed: *I conjure you to be as mindful of Horace as of me.* *Augustus* offer'd him the Secretaryship, and wrote to *Maccenas* to that Effect, in the following Words: *Hitherto I have been able, without the Assistance of any Person, to write to my Friends; but being now overwhelm'd with the Weight of Business and Infirmities, I wish you would bring your Horace to me. He will then leave your Table, where he is only a Parasite, to come to my Royal Table, and will help me to write my Letters.* He was not in the least displeas'd at *Horace's* refusing this Office, but continu'd to be his Friend as much as ever. There are some of his Letters yet extant, which are a sufficient Proof of this, out of which I have taken what follows: *Præbeæ tæque some Liberty with me, as if you were my constant Guest, and don't be afraid of offending me: For you know very well,*

* *Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
Plus jam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
Hinnu me videas strigiosorem.*

that I wish you would live with me in this manner, if your Health could permit. And in another Letter; Our Friend Septimius can inform you after what Manner I remember you; for I happen'd to speak of you before him. Altho' you were so proud as to despise my Friendship, yet I do not return your Contempt of it by a reciprocal Contempt. Besides, in other Letters, he rallies him, calling him the little Debauchee, and the very agreeable little Droll. On two different Occasions he made him very rich Presents; he lik'd his Verses so well, and was so much perswaded that they would come down to the latest Posterity, that he not only order'd him to compose the *Carmen Saeculare*, but likewise to sing the Victory of Tiberius and Drusus, and oblig'd him, for this Reason, to add a Fourth Book to the other three which he had publish'd a long time before. And after he had read some of his *Sermones*, he was offended that he had made no Mention of him, and complain'd of it in these Terms: *I would have you know that I am angry with you, that in most of your Writings you don't address to me. Do you apprehend that one Day it will be a Blemish upon your Reputation, to be thought to have been one of my Friends?* And by this he drew from him the Eclogue which begins thus: *Since you alone, Augustus, sustain the Weight of so many great and important Affairs, since you defend this Empire by your Arms, since you reform it by your Laws, and adorn it with good Manners, I should sin against the Publick, if I trespass'd upon your precious Minutes by a long Discourse.*

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was little and plump, as he says of himself in his Satires, and as *Augustus* says of him in this Letter: *Dionysius brought me your little Book, and such as it is, (not to complain of its Brevity) is very acceptable to me. You seem to be afraid lest your Books should be bigger than your self; but what you want in Stature you have in Plumpness: and nothing hinders but that you may write in a little Box, for your Book and you are much of a Size, and 'tis, like your Belly, very thick.* He spent most of his Time in his little Country House, in the Country of *Sabinum*, or *Tibur*, and his House is yet to be seen near the Grove of *Tiburnus*. Some Elegies under his Name have come to my Hands, and an Epistle in Prose, in which he seems to recommend the Care of his Fortune to *Maccenas*; but I am of Opinion they are spurious; for the Elegies are not vulgar, and the Epistle obscure; a Fault he was never guilty of. He was born on the 8th of December, under the Consulship of *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus*; and died in December, when *C. M. Censorinus*, and *C. A. Gallus* were Consuls, in his 57th Year, having nam'd *Augustus* for his Heir, his Illness not permitting him to sign a Will. He was buried at the farther End of the *Esquiline*, near the Tomb of *Maccenas*.

PRAE-

PRAEFATIO

AD

LECTOREM.

AUCA sunt, Lector benevole, de quibus certio-rem te fieri velim, priusquam Horatium meo munere, nisi fallor, meliorem nunc cultiorem-que in manus tibi sumseris. Cum ante aliquot annos provinciae cuidam admotus essem; ubi aliena negotia, curaeque molestissimae per caput quotidie salientes, severiora omnia studia de manibus mihi excusserant: constitui mecum, ne Musarum me amorumque veterum oblivio prorsus caperet, ameniorem quempiam Scriptorem edendum mihi sumere, levioris operae materiaeque, quae animum tranquillum & defaecatum non tam requireret, quam efficeret: quaeque horis subcisivis edolari, & mille interpellationes sine gravi damno pati posset. Ante alios autem placuit HORATIUS; non quod in eo plu-

THE

PREFACE.

Kind Reader,

BEFORE thou tak'st *Horace* into thy Hands, who is both the better and handsomer for the Pains I have bestow'd upon him, 'tis fit I acquaint thee first with a few things. Having been several Years ago advanced to a certain Post, in which Affairs foreign to my Province, and the most perplexing Cares continually distracted me, which forc'd me to lay aside all serious Studies, I resolv'd with my self, lest I should forget the Muses, and my old darling Companions, to undertake the publishing of some entertaining Author, whose Matter did not require much Pains or Thought, which rather made than call'd for a Mind perfectly easy, and free from Cares; and whose Meaning might be fish'd out at one's Leisure Hours, and suffer a thousand Avocations without much Disadvantage. Of all others that I could think of, *Horace* was the Author who pleased me best; not that I expected to find

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ra, quam in alio fere quovis seu Latino seu Graeco, restituere me & emendare posse considerem, sed quod is omnium veterum maxime vel merito suo vel gemitu quodam & placendi sorte in manibus hominum pectoribusque haereret. Formam vero & institutum operis sic mihi definiri tenuisq; his circumscripsi; ut ea sola attingerem quae ad sanitatem sinceritatemque Lectionis pertinerent: cetera illa pluraque, quae ad Historiam & Mores antiquos grandem illam Commentariorum silvam & instrumentum spectarent, prorsus praeterirem. Per me quidem eruditus viris, qui in illo stadio decurrerunt, suus bonus saluus esto: utilissimam sane operam navarunt quae nisi ab illis occupata foret, jam nunc necessario impendenda esset de integro; sine qua aditum tibi patere ad haec Nostra frustra speraveris. Sic enim se res habet: diffusa illa lectio & eruditio, veterisque totius Latini & Graecae notitia, quae in illa studiorum materie totum constituit, in hac Nostra partis duntaxat imminuatur & initiorum apparatusque locum obtineat. Omnia quippe tibi ista in numerato esse prius portet, quam de quovis Scriptore sine demeritis finis temeritatis nota censuram agere audeas. Est & peracris insuper iudicio opus; est sagacitate & assidua; est, ut de Aristarcho olim praedicabant, divinandi quoddam peritia & constantia quae nulla laborandi pertinacia vitaeve longae quietate acquiri possunt, sed naturae solius munus.

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find more Room for Corrections and Emendations in him, than in any other *Greek* or *Latin* Writer ; but because by his Worth, Genius, and a certain Art of pleasing, he had the good Luck to charm every body more than any other of the Ancients. But the Form and Design of this Work I confin'd, and circumscrib'd within these Limits ; only to restore the true and genuine Reading, and not to meddle with what regarded History or ancient Customs, that vast Furniture of Commentaries: I am not for detracting in the least from the Glory of those learned Men, who have laid out their Study this way, and whose Labours in this respect have been very useful. We must have begun there, unless they had already prevented us ; and it would have been in vain to expect what we now offer, unless they had first cleared the Way. The whole Matter stands thus : That extensive Reading and Erudition, and the Knowledge of both the *Roman* and *Greek* Literature, which comprehends the whole of that kind of Studies, deserve to be esteem'd only as the meanest Part, and as the Beginnings and Rudiments of our Performance. For you must first be Master of all these, before you can pretend to judge of any Author, unless you would be guilty of the highest Presumption. Besides, one must have a very accurate and piercing Judgment, a Sagacity and Acuteness, and, as was said of *Aristarchus* of old, a certain *Μαλιν*, and Skill in Divining ; which can never be acquir'd by the utmost Industry, or Length of Time, but are owing to the Bounty of Nature, and the Felicity

B

re nascendique felicitate contingunt. Inde est, quod, cum in ceteris disciplinis eventus laboribus votisque respondeat; contra in hac Critices palaestra, ex tam multis, qui libris studiisque insenscentes per integram vitam hoc saxum voverunt, exstiterunt oppido pauci, qui speratum sibi apud posteros nomen nancisci valuerunt. Et tamen, ne id forte nescias, longe longeque difficilius est hodie, quam superioribus erat annis, emendationes conscribere. Ita omnia illa, quae ex scriptorum Codicum collatione clare & ultero se ingerebant, praerepta jam sunt & anticipata: neque quidquam fere residuum est, nisi quod ex intima sententiae vi & orationis indole solius ingenii ope sit eruendum. Plura igitur in Horatianis his curis ex conjectura exhibemus, quam ex Codicum subsidio; &, nisi me omnia fallunt, plerumque certiora: nam in variis Editionibus ipsa saepe auctoritas illudit, & pravae emendaturientium prurigini abblanditur; in conjecturis vero contra omnem Librorum fidem proponendis & timor pudorque aurem vellunt, & sola ratio ac sententiarum lux necessitasque ipsa dominantur. Quid quod, si ex uno alterove Codice discrepantem aliis scripturam expromas, frustra es si unico duobusve testibus adversus contrarium fidem facere postulas; nisi tot argumentis

continuum & tot & totis argumentis mun-

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city of Birth. And this is the Reason, that in other Studies the Fruits are answerable to the Hopes and Pains bestow'd upon them; whereas, in the School of Criticism there have been so very few among the many who have spent their whole Life, and grown grey in Reading and Meditation, that have been able to acquire Fame, by engaging in this difficult Task. Nor would I have you ignorant, that it is infinitely more difficult now, than it was in former times, to write Emendations. Every Thing that was clear and obvious upon collating Manuscrip's, has been already observed and anticipated; and there is scarce any thing left for us to do, but to beat our Brains, in order to squeeze out a conceal'd Meaning, and enter into the Genius of an Author. Therefore in these our Labours upon *Horace*, a great deal more is owing to Conjecture, than to the Assistance of Books; and, if I mistake not, what arises from Conjecture is much more certain than what is founded upon the Authority of any Books; for in various Readings the very Authority often imposes upon, and flatters the depraved Itch of your pitiful Emendators; whereas both Fear and Shame put us upon our guard, and make us cautious how we advance our own Conjectures against the Faith of all Books; and Reason alone, the Evidence of the Sense, and pure Necessity govern us in this Matter. Certainly, if you produce a Reading out of one or two Books, which differ from others, you are to be condemn'd, if you prefer the Testimony of one or two Witnesses to that of a hundred, unless

muniveris, quae vel sola pene sine Codicis testimonio ei rei probandae sufficere possint. Noli itaque Librarios solos venerari: sed per te sapere aude, ut singula ad orationis ductum sermonisque genium exigens ita demum pronunties. sententiamque feras. Enimvero haud animi me fallit, tot in Flacco emendationes iniquis oculis plerisque aspecturos, nec nisi vi & ingratis receptas tam diu lectiones veteresque avias sibi revelli passuros. Quippe in aliis auctoribus minus sibi tritis pro libitu id fieri non aegre tulerint; in hoc, quem jam inde a pueritia dies noctesque versarunt, quemque intus & in cute se novisse opinati sunt, tot jam menda detegi, tot absurda sensusque cassa redargui, quasi convicium sibi factum interpretabuntur. Horum ego ut praejudicio & ἀνδοχῇ occurrerem; fuse pleraque & prolixè praeter morem meum in adnotationibus deduxi: ut vel indignantes ac reluctantes eum rationum pondere tum exemplorum numero obruerem, inque meam tandem sententiam vel obtorto eos collo traberem. Hoc rogo in memoria habeat eruditior Lector & acutior; siquando forte, cum duobus verbis rem pervinisci potuisse putet, ex longo tractu

unless you can strengthen it with such Arguments, as wou'd of themselves be sufficient to prove the Matter in question, almost without the Help of Books. I wou'd not therefore have you pay a blind Veneration to Dealers in Books alone; but dare to think for your self, that so you may at length be able to pronounce, and give your Opinion, after having examin'd every thing according to the Thread of the Discourse, and the Nature of the Subject. I am well appriz'd, that a great many will look upon my E-mendations on *Horace* with an evil Eye, and will very hardly part with ancient Mistakes, and Readings so long received. However Passive they may be in the case of other Authors, with whom they have not made so familiar an Acquaintance, yet they will look upon it as an Affront designed against them, when they find so many Faults detected, so many absurd and senseless Things condemn'd in one whom they have turn'd over Night and Day, and whom they believ'd they perfectly understood. In order to remove the Prejudice and Wavering of these Men, I have, contrary to my wonted Custom, explain'd many Things at great length in my Annotations, that so I might bear down even the most stubborn and backward, both with the Weight of Reasons, and the Number of Examples, and drag them into my Opinion in spite of their Teeth. I desire one Favour of my learned and clear-sighted Reader, That after, perhaps, he is weary with reading a long String of Annotations, he may not imagine

C

gine

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tractū adnotationis fastidium eum ceperit. Non
 raro tamen etiam data opera brevior contractiorque
 fui; partim taedio ut fieri solet furtim obrepente
 partim consulto viribus parcens & quae in promptu
 mihi erant opes dissimulans: ut ne ubique judi-
 cii hominum diffidere viderer, utque stolidi &
 ad depugnandum parati se in laqueos inopinantes
 induerent, risum jocumque nasutioribus da-
 turi. Qualiacumque vero haec sunt, aestivis tan-
 tum mensibus (ita tamen ut uno alteroque bien-
 nio fuerint prorsus intermissa) & primo impetu
 ac calore sine lima cursive secundis descripta, sic
 madida fere charta (ut nemini hic meorum non
 compertissimum est) ad typographos deferabantur.
 Neque enim aut animus aut otium erat
 calamistris illa inurere; nec tanti emerim jeju-
 nam illam obscurae diligentiae laudem; ac pu-
 debat praeterea nugis calamique lusibus pondus
 velle addere, & ἐν πᾶσι quod aiunt μίαν; si
 tamen, uti spero, ut nec sermonis puritatem, nec
 ordinis lumen, neque rationum vim & perspi-
 cuitatem vel in his αὐτοματίαις desideres. Por-
 ro autem, ut scias quibus opibus instructus per-
 culosae huic me operae accinxerim; praeter ve-
 rustos illos codices Lambino, Pulmanno, Cru-
 qüo, Torrentio, Bersmanno, Statio, aliisque
 versatos olim & excussos, aderant & mihi Mem-
 branae veteres minime poenitendae. Vetusstis-
 sima

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gine the whole Business might have been dis-
 patched in two Words. Nevertheless, I have
 studied Brevity in several Places; partly thro'
 Weariness, which crept upon me unawares, as
 is usual in such cases, and partly on purpose,
 being willing to conceal my Strength, and hide
 the rich Stores I had in reserve, that I might
 not seem to distrust my Reader's Judgment;
 and that Fools and rash Assailants might fall
 unawares into the Snare I had laid for them,
 and so become the Jest and Sport of the more
 Sagacious. These my Labours, such as they
 are, were performed in the Summer Months
 (but intermitted for four whole Years) and
 wrought off in the first Sally and Heat, with-
 out any After-polishing, or Revising; and thus
 carried to the Printer's before the Paper was well
 dry, as is very well known to all my Friends
 in this Place. For I had neither Leisure nor
 Inclination to flourish and make any Figure in
 this Work; nor was I willing to pay so dear
 for that empty Praise of obscure Diligence; be-
 sides, I was ashamed to seem to have made a
 Burden of the Bagatelles and Play of my Pen,
 and as they say ἐν παντὶ μέγαν. Nevertheless,
 I hope, that in these hasty Sheets there is neither
 wanting Purity of Language, nor Light of Or-
 der, nor Force and Perspicuity of Arguments.
 Moreover, that the Reader may understand
 with what Helps I was enabled to go thro' with
 this difficult Work; besides those ancient Co-
 pies which *Lambinus*, *Pulmannus*, *Cruquius*,
Torrentius, *Bersmannus*, *Stadius*, and others
 made use of, I had likewise very good Ancient

num sane exemplar annorum facile DCCC, cui tamen Epistolarum & Sermonum pars magna deerat, suppeditavit & huc transmisit praestantissimus Graevius ὁ μακρότης; post ejus obitum in Bibliothecam Serenissimi Electoris Palatini cum reliqua ejus libraria supellectile concessit. Alterum supparis aetatis in Bibl. Leidensi continebatur ὁ κεινός τῆς & Nicolaus Heinsius, ut & Zulichemianum annorum DC: quorum varias lectiones descriptas manu Heinsii, conjecturis quoque ejus identidem interpositis, disertissimi Viri Petri Burmanni comitate nactus sum. Vossiani, prioribus illis optimis non inferioris, & Markiani qui Epistolas modo habet, lectiones serius paulo in manus venerunt, operam eruditi juvenis Abrahami Franckii in Batavia descriptae. Ex Britannicis, quos omnes ipsi oculis usurpavimus, palmam facile auferet Codex Collegii Reginensis Oxonii, DCC annorum & ab omni parte integer: post hunc Liber e Bibliotheca Regiae Societatis Londini, alter Petrensis Domus Cantabrigiae, tertius Collegii Magdalenensis Oxonii, quartus Viri ornatissimi Rogeri Galei, quintus Reverendi admodum Episcopi Eliensis, qui sub initiis Typographiae scriptus est eadem plane manu ac alter e Collegio Regio Cantabrigiae, qui falso praeconio Bembinus venditur. Praeter hos & alii plures accesserunt, qui partem tantummodo Horatianorum operum

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Manuscripts. The most excellent *Gravius* sent over to me a most Ancient MS, at least 800 Years old, but which wanted most of the Epistles and *Sermones*, which (after his Death) with the rest of his Books, was given to the most Serene, the Elector of Palatine's Library. That excellent Critic, *Nicolas Heinsius*, furnished me with another of about the same Age out of the Leyden Library; as likewise with one from *Zu- leheim* 600 Years old; the various Readings of which, written with *Heinsius's* own Hand, and his interspers'd Notes, that excellent Critic *Peter Burman* was pleas'd to communicate to me. I afterwards receiv'd the various Readings of *Vissius's* Copy, which is not inferior to any of the former, and Mr. *Mark's*, which contains only the Epistles, both wrote by that learned young Man *Abraham Frank* in *Holland*. Of those that are in *Britain*, (all which I have perus'd) that which belongs to *Queen's College* in *Oxford* is undoubtedly the best, which is 700 Years old, and perfectly compleat; next to this is the Book in the Library of the Royal Society at *London*, that in *Peter-House* in *Cambridge*, a third in *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, a fourth belonging to the learned *Roger Gale*, a fifth belonging to the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Ely*, wrote about the Beginning of Printing, written by the same Hand with another in *Kings College* in *Cambridge*, which is falsely ascrib'd to *Bembus*. Besides these, I likewise had the Use of many others, which contain'd only a Part of *Horace's* Works; as that which belong'd

operum continebant; Battelianus, ex Museo Cl. Joannis Battely Archidiaconi nuper Cantuariensis, cui Epistolae omnes, & Sermones aliquot libri Hdi desunt; alter e Bibliotheca Regia, Sermones & Epistolas Artemque complexus, cui plane geminus est ab eodem Librario descriptus in Collegio Magdalenensi Oxonii. Eadem fere habent tria exemplaria ex Collegio nostro S. Trinitatis; Carmina vero & Epodos Bodleiani duo & Vigorniensis; Artem autem Poeticam Vigorniensis alter & Digbeanus Oxonii, & Moreti liber a Nic. Heinsio olim collatus. Porro etiam vidimus, quas e Codice Colbertino Lutetiae varias exscripserat lectiones vir celeberrimus Edvardus Bernardus, & e Franckerano nescio quis; verum uterque pauculas tantum & levioze cura. Hos omnes manu exaratos Codices, quos sen ipsi excussimus, siue amicorum beneficio nunc primum literato orbi exhibemus. Nostorum subinde vocabulo indicamus, ut & aliis editoribus solemne est: quod ideo hic monendum erat, ne cavillator aliquis cornicum hi oculos gestiat configere. Neque vero Editione vetustas omniumque principes negligendas mihi existimavi, Venetam anni MCCCCLXXVIII & Argentinensem Jacobi Locher poetae Latini reati anni MCCCXCVIII; quas Nobilissimus Viri CAROLI Sunderlandiae Comitis illustrissima bibliotheca mihi suppeditavit; quarumque haec non ex exemplaribus Italis jamdudum editis

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long'd to the famous *John Batteley*, sometime Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, which wants all the Epistles, and some of the *Sermones* of the 2d Book; and another in the *Queen's Library*, containing all the *Sermones* and Epistles, a perfect Copy of which wrote by the same Hand is in *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*. There are three Copies in our *Trinity College*, which contain the same things; and the two *Bodleian*, and that at *Worcester*, have the *Carmina* and the *Epodes*; but another at *Worcester*, and the *Digbeian* at *Oxford*, and *Moretus's*, formerly collated by *Nic. Heinsius*, contain the *Ars Poetica*. I have likewise seen the various Readings which *Edward Bernard* wrote from the *Colbertine* Copy at *Paris*, and those which I know not who wrote from that of *Franeker*. All these MS Copies, which I have either examin'd my self, or which I now present to the World for the first time by the Assistance of my Friends, I from henceforth call *Mine*, agreeably to the manner of other Editors; which I thought proper to advertise in this place, lest some Caviller should endeavour to take an Advantage of me. Nor did I think the Ancient Editions, and which of all others are the best, were to be neglected, especially the *Venetian* of the Year 1478, and the *Argentine* of *James Loder*, Poet-Laureat, of the Year 1498; both which I had out of the choice and vast Library of the most Noble *CHARLES* Earl of *Sunderland*; and the last of which was not Printed from the *Italian* Editions published a long time before,

editis, sed ex manuscriptis Germanicis expressa est. Accesserunt his ex Bibliotheca Regiae Societatis, altera Veneta anni MCCCCXC, in qua prima ut opinor Scholiastae Veteres Acron & Porphyriion compaernerunt; & Acronis exemplar scriptum, quod olim erat sua aetate celeberrimum viri Bilibaldi Pirkheimeri. Ceterum ubicumque vel ex codicibus vetustis vel ex ingenio facile verba restituumus, ut omnino in ipsam quem vocant Contextum ea recipi oporteret, ita caute & pudenter rem gessimus, ut ne minimum quidem a probatissimis editionibus defixum nobis sit, quin receptam simul lectionem in ima pagina posuerimus; adeo ut uno lector conspectu tam novam hanc quam superiores editiones non sine magno suo commodo & voluptate contemplari queat. Ut enim stulta eorum superstitio est, qui nihil quicquam in Contextu ne vari volant, manifestissimum sit licet certissimumque; ita rursus improbanda est & non ferenda aliorum fiducia, qui clam immutare quicquam & interpolare audent, neque lectorem de ea re vel verbo admonent. Cum autem prius ex his duobus Volumen, quo Poetae verba sine commentario exhibentur, diu ante typis excusum esset, quam Adnotati onibus manum admove rem vix aliter in tam ancipiti iudicii alea, cum non dum mihi omnes Codicum copiae praesto essent invenire potuit, quam ut quasdam lectiones prioribus omnibus probatas in Contextu ferri sine

before, but from *German Manuscripts*. Besides these, I had out of *Gresham College Library* another *Venetian Copy*, in which I fancy appear'd the Ancient Scholiasts *Acron* and *Porphyrion*; and *Acron's Manuscript Copy*, which belong'd to *Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus*, the most famous Man of his Time. But wherever I restor'd Words so clearly, either from Ancient Copies, or from my own Conjecture, that it was necessary to put them into the Context, as they call it, I always did it with so much Caution and Bashfulness, that I did not in the least vary from the most approved Editions, without putting the receiv'd Reading at the bottom of the Page; so that the Reader at one view will be able to see not only this new one, but likewise all the former Editions, to his no small Profit and Pleasure. For as their Superstition is foolish, who are against putting any thing new into the Text, tho' ever so manifest and certain; so is their Presumption to be condemn'd and disallow'd, who venture to change or interpolate any thing by Stealth, and do not make the least mention of it to the Reader. But the first of these Volumes, which contains the Words of the Poet without any Commentary, having been printed off long before I put my Hand to the Annotations; it could scarce fall out otherwise in so nice and difficult a Work, (not having been yet Master of all the Copies) but that I should admit into the Text some Readings, as being approv'd by all that had gone before me, which, after considering

rem, quas postea re accuratius perpensa ejectas
esse cuperem; contraque novas aliquot introduce-
rem, quarum postea poeniteret. Ita Carmine III
Libri primi Siccis oculis nimium patienter tuli;
cujus loco, si res nunc integra esset, Rectis ocu-
lis sine dubitatione substituere velim: rursus,
pag. 41 Aget, 118 Illos, 119 Vultu & per,
136 Porrecta, 149 Secrevit. Aere dehinc quo-
rum, 160 Quiddam, 170 Vellunt, 172 Sermo
merus, 180 Censorque, 187 Utrasque Confu-
sus, 201 Anni & Occupat, 217 Post vinum,
223 Romae, 224 Non mentiar, 244 Tendere,
258 Res, 264 Perdidit, 272 Sed rebus, quae
nunc inum folium occupant, ad sedes suas revo-
cari cupiam. Tantum autem abest ut oculi an-
dum mihi hoc aut erubescendum esse credam; ut
ultra etiam lectori imputem, meque vineta me-
caedendo ingenui candidique hominis nomen apud
aequos iudices habiturum esse confidam. Porro
autem Orthographiae rationem institui ad Au-
gusti saeculi normam, quae ex Inscriptionibus
Numis, Vetusioribusque Membranis abunde con-
stat, quamque & alii & praesertim Nic. Hein-
sius in Virgilio suo secutus est. Ergo praeter
Vulgus, Divom, Impius, Conpesco, & cetera
na ejusmodi, Accusativos plurales, ubi Genitive
in ium exeunt, in is hic terminatos habes, Un-
bis, Auris, Omnis: quae omnia me in antiquis
Flacci Codicibus reperisse fide optima te-
stari possum. Neque vero, in Poetis praesertim
dissimulari id oportuit; cum, ut ex Gellio &

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the Matter maturely, I should wish had been left out; and on the other hand, that I should bring in some new ones, which I should afterwards repent. Thus in *Carmin. III* of the first Book, I was too merciful to *Siccis oculis*; in the place of which, if I were at Liberty, I would undoubtedly substitute *Rectis oculis*. Again, I wish I could recal to their proper places the following Words, which are at the bottom of the Page; as Pag. 41 *Ager*, 118 *Ilios*, 119 *vultu* & *per*, 136 *Porrecta*, 143 *Secrevit*. *Aere debino* *gnorum*, 160 *Quiddam*, 170 *Vellunt*, 172 *Sermo* *merus*, 180 *Censorq*; 187 *Urasq*; *confusus*, 201 *Anni* & *Occupat*, 217 *Post vinum*, 223 *Roma*; 224 *Non mentiar*, 244 *Tendere*, 258 *Res*, 264 *Perdedit*, 272 *Sed Rebus*. But I am so far from hiding this, or thinking I ought to be ashamed of it, that I refer it to the Judgment of the Reader, and hope that for so doing I shall merit the Character of a candid and ingenuous Man with all equitable Judges. Moreover, I have followed the Orthography as it was in the *Au-* *gustan* Age, which abundantly appears from Inscriptions, Medals and Ancient MSS, and which others have followed, but especially *Ni-* *colas Heinsius*, in his *Virgils*. And therefore besides *Volgus*, *Dixam*, *Inpius*, *Conpesco*, and such like Words which end in *ium* in the Genitive of the Plural Number, end in *is* in the Accusative Plural, such as *urbis*, *auris*, *omnis*; which I solemnly protest I found thus written in the most Ancient Copies of *Horace*. I ought this to be conceal'd, especially in Poets; since, as appears from *Gellius*, and else;

liunde notum est, iudicium artificumque scripto-
 ris versuumque suavitas in illis terminationibus
 plerumque spectatur. Carminum vero, non O-
 darum, Sermonum, non Satirarum libros; at-
 que in his singulos quosque Sermones Eclogas in-
 scripsimus; & Membranarum & Grammatico-
 rum veterum auctoritatem secuti. Eclogarum
 fane nomine Silvas suas appellavit Statius, Prae-
 fatione libri III & IV; quia & Placii Episto-
 lam Suetonius, Carmen vero Ausonius in praef-
 atione Griali, Eclogam nuncuparunt. Nimi-
 rum omni brevi Poematio id olim vocabulum in-
 debatur, ut ex his Plinii constat Epist. IV, 14.
 Unum illud praedicendum videtur, cogitare
 me has nugas inscribere, Hendecasyllabi, qui
 titulus sola metri lege confringitur. Pro-
 inde siue Epigrammata, siue Idyllia, siue Eclo-
 gas, siue (ut multi) Poemata, seu quod aliud
 appellare malueris, licebit voces: ego tantum
 Hendecasyllabos praesto. Porro ut Terentium
 ex Calliopii, Virgilium ex Alterii Cons. anno post
 Christum MCCCXCIV, Valerium Maximum ex
 Helpidii Domnuli; ita Flacum ex Mavortii re-
 censione hodie habemus. Sic enim in antiquiori-
 bus Codicibus, Leidensi, Reginensi aliisque, post
 Epodos literis majusculis scriptum fertur: VET-
 TIUS AGORIUS BASILIUS MAVOR-
 TIUS V. C. ET INL. EXCOM. DOM. EX-
 CONS. ORD. LEGI ET UT POTUI EMEN-
 DAVI. CONFERENTE MIHI MAGI-
 STRO FELICE ORATORE URBIS RO-
 MAE: hoc est, Vir Clarissimus & Illustris
 Excomite Domestico, Exconsule Ordinario.

elsewhere, the Judgment and Art of the Writer, and the Sweetness of the Verses is to be seen for the most part in these Terminations. I have given to these Books the Titles of *Carminum*, not of *Odarum*; of *Sermonum*, not of *Sayrarum*; and in these last I have inscrib'd every *Sermo* an *Eclogue*, being supported by the Authority of ancient MSS and Grammarians. *Statius* called his *Sylvæ* by the Name of *Eclogæ*, in the Preface to the third and fourth Books; and *Suetonius* calls his *Epistles*, and *Ansonius* his *Carnuria* by the Name of *Eclogues*; for of old that was the Name of every short Poem; as appears from these Words of *Pliny*, *Epist. IV, 14. Unum illud prædicendum videtur, cogitare me has nugas inscribere, HENDECA-*
SYLLABI, qui titulus sola metri lege constrin-
gitur. Proinde sive Epigrammata, sive Idyllia,
sive Eclogas, sive (ut multi) Poemata, seu
quod aliud appellare malueris, licebit voces:
ingo tantum Hendecasyllibos præsto. Moreover,
 as we have *Terence* revised by *Calliopius*, *Vir-*
gil by *Asterius*, *Consul* in the Year of Christ
 94, *Valerius Maximus* by *Helpidius Domnu-*
us; so we have *Horace* by *Mavortius*. For
 in the most ancient Copies, as the *Leyden*, and
 others, after the *Epodes* what follows is writ-
 ten in Capitals. VETTIUS AGORIUS BA-
 ILIUS, V. C. ET INL. EXCOM. DOM. EX-
 CONS. ORD. LEGI ET UT POTUI EMEN-
 DAVI. CONFERENTE MIHI MAGISTRO
 FELICE ORATORE URBS ROMÆ; i. e.
Clarissimus & inlustis, Excomite Domestico,
Exconsule Ordinario. Who this *Magister Fe-*
 E lix

Quis fuerit ille Magister Felix, qui eodem loco quo Donatus titulo honestatur Oratoris Urbis Romae, equidem nescio: at Mavortius is ipse est, qui Consul erat sine Collega anno post Christum DXXVII: unde Fasti egregie illustrari possunt, cum aliunde iste Mavortius nulla alia re nisi cognomine solo immoretur. Jam vero & illud monendum est, Editiones principes & recentioris aetatis Codices alio ac nunc solemus ordine Artem Poeticam collocare, post Carmen nempe Saeculare ante Sermones & Epistolas: vetustiores vero omnes Membranas post Carminum libros Artem Epodis praepone. Si quaeris quisnam ex his ordo recte se habeat, seriemque temporum, quibus singula ab auctore edita sunt, rite conservet, vetustusne ille an medius an modernus; nullus profecto omnium. Magno quidem studio & acerrima contentione post Tanquilli Fabri operam Clarissimi Viri Dacerius Massonusque in hanc arenam descenderunt; quorum quidem acumen & eruditionem in partibus laudo: in operis vero summa totoque constitutione, rem eos infelicititer admodum gessisse censeo. Horum enim rationibus, & Carminibus & Epodis & Sermonibus Epistolisque scribendis ut ac eodem tempore vacavisse Nostrum necesse est & singula quaeque poemata separatim in vulgus edidisse: quorum utrumque a vero alienum esse mihi pro comperto est. Quippe omnibus, qui ejusmodi Poemata scripserunt, id in more erat ut non sparsas Eclogas, sed integros libellos semel simulque in lucem ederent. Ita Catullo

He was, who is honour'd with the Title of
Orator Urbis Romae, the same that *Donatus* had,
 is more than I know. But *Mavortius* is the
 very Man, who was Consul without a Col-
 league in the Year of Christ 527 ; which gives
 great Light into the *Fasti*, since that *Mavortius*
 is not known elsewhere by any thing but
 his Sirname. Neither must I forget to acquaint
 the Reader, that the chief Editions, and the
 MSS of a later Date, place the *Ars Poetica* in
 another Order than we commonly do, viz. af-
 ter the *Carmen Saeculare*, which is before the
Sermones and *Epistles* ; but that all the anci-
 ent MSS place it after the *Carmina* and be-
 fore the *Epodes*. If you ask me, which of
 these Orders is the best, and exactly observes
 the Series of the Times, in which the Author
 publish'd his single Pieces ? Whether the anci-
 ent, the middle, or the present ? I answer,
 That none of all these is right. Indeed the fa-
 mous *Dacier* and *Masson* have strain'd hard,
 and contended earnestly upon this Subject, after
Tanaquil Faber : I praise their Penetration and
 Erudition in Parts ; but I am of Opinion that
 in the general and Sum of the Work, they have
 succeeded but ill. For by their Arguments,
Horace must have wrote his *Carmina*, *Epodes*,
Sermones and *Epistles* at one and the same
 Time ; and publish'd every single Poem sepa-
 rately ; both which I am very sure are perfect-
 ly false. For it was usual for those who
 wrote Poems of this Nature, not to publish
 them in scatter'd *Eclogues*, but in entire Books
 together at the same time. So *Catullus* did

fecit, ut ex Epigrammate I constat : Cui dono
 Lepidum novum **LIBELLUM** : ita Tibullus,
 quem vide Elegia I libri tertii, v. 7 & 17. ita
 Propertius Eleg. I librorum II, III, & IV. ita
 & Libri II Elegia X, v. 25. & XIX, v. 39.
 ita Virgilius Bucolica dedit, uti patet ex ultimo
 illo, Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi conce-
 de laborem : ita Naso Amorum & Tristium
 & Ponticorum libros, ipso teste : ita Statius
 Silvas suas, ita Martialis Epigrammata, ut Prae-
 fationes eorum fidem faciunt : ita Persius Sati-
 ras ; Phaedrus & Avienus Fabulas ; Ansonius
 Prudentius, Sidonius, Venantiusque sua Car-
 mina ; quod ex eorum Prologis abunde patet. Qui
 quaeris ? Ipse quoque Horatius libellos suos ju-
 ctim editos aperte indicat ; primum Carminum
 librum ex Prologo ; secundum tertiumque ex Ep-
 logo ; Epodus ex illo XIV, Inceptos olim promi-
 sum carmen Iambos. Ad umbilicum adducere
 Sermorum priorem librum ex versu ultimo, Ipu-
 atque meo citus haec subscribe **LIBELLO** : po-
 steriorem ex Prologo ; priorem vero Epistolarum
 & ex Prologo & ex Epilogo. Quartum ver-
 Carminum, & Epistolarum secundum longo po-
 cetera intervallo emissos esse, plenissimum est Su-
 tonii testimonium ; quod qui aut refellere aut
 ludere conantur, inanem operam infumunt. H-
 jam positis, primum Horatii opus statuo Sermo-
 num librum primum, quem triennio perfecit in

as appears from his first Epigram, *Cui dono Lepidum novum LIBELLUM*: So Tibullus in Eleg. I. Lib. III. v. 7, & 17. So did Propertius, Eleg. I. Lib. II, III, & IV. as also Lib. II. Eleg. X. v. 25, & XIX. v. 39. Thus Virgil publish'd his *Bucolicks*, as appears in the last, *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem*: Thus did Ovid publish his Books *de Amoris*; *Tristibus*, & *Ponticis*; thus did Statius publish his *Sylvae*, Martial his *Epigrams*, as their Prefaces testify; and thus did Persius publish his *Satires*; Phaedrus and Avianus their *Fables*; and Ausonius, Prudentius, Sidonius, and Venantius their Verses, as abundantly appears from their Prologues. Why shou'd you doubt of this? Even Horace himself openly declares, that his Books were publish'd jointly: That the first Book of his *Carmens* was thus publish'd, appears from the Prologue; that the second and third, appears from the Epilogues: The Epodes from that XIV, *Inceptos olim promissum carmen Iambos. Ad umbilicum adducere*: The first Book of the *Sermones*, from the last Verse, *I puer atque meo citus haec subscribe LIBELLO*: The last from the Prologue; and the former of the *Epistles*, both from the Prologue and the Epilogue: But that the fourth Book of the *Carmena*, and the second of the *Epistles* went abroad a long time after the rest, is fully testified by Suetonius, which it would be lost Labour for any Man to endeavour either to refute or elude. But to proceed: I maintain that Horace's first Work, was his first Book of *Sermones*, which he finish'd in the Space of three

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tra annos aetatis XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII; postea Secundum triennio itidem, annis XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII; deinde Epodos biennio, XXXIV & XXXV; tum Carminum librum primum triennio, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII; Secundum biennio, XL, XLI; Tertiumque pariter biennio, XLII, XLIII: inde Epistolarum primum biennio, XLVI, XLVII; tum Carminum lib. quartum & Saeculare triennio, XLIX, L, LI. Postremo Artem Poeticam & Epistolarum librum alterum, annis incertis. Intra hos cancellos omnium poematum natales esse ponendos, & ex argumentis singulorum & ex Annalium fide constabit. Inde est, quod in Sermonibus & Epodis & Carminum primo, Caesar semper, nunquam Augustus dicitur; quippe qui id nomen consecutus est, anno demum Flacci XXXIX; insequentibus vero passim Augustus appellatur. Inde est, quod in Sermonibus & Epodis Jovenem se ubique indicat; & quod sola Satirarum laude inclavisse se dicit, ut Bucolicorum tum Virgilium (Serm. I, 10. v. 46.) nulla Lyricorum mentione facta. In ceteris autem singulis procedentis aetatis gradus planissimis signis indicat: idque tibi ex hac serie jam a me demonstrata jucundum erit animadvertere; cum operibus

three Years, viz. in the 26, 27 and 28th Years of his Age; next, the second also in the Space of three Years, viz. in the 31, 32, and 33d Years of his Age; then his Epodes, in two Years, the 34th and 35th of his Age; then his first Book of *Carmina*, in three Years, the 36, 37, and 38th of his Age; the second in two Years, the 40, and 41st of his Age; the third likewise in two Years, the 42, and 43d of his Age; then the first Book of Epistles in two Years, the 46, and 47th of his Age; after this, the fourth Book of the *Carmina*, and the *Carmen Saeculare*, in three Years, the 49, 50, and 51st of his Age; and, last of all, the *Ars Poetica*, and second Book of Epistles; but in what Years is uncertain. That these are true Dates of all these Poems, will appear both from the Arguments of every one of them, and from the Faith of Annals: Hence it is, that in the *Sermones*, *Epodes*, and the first Book of the *Carmina*, the Emperor is always call'd *Cæsar*, but never *Augustus*, because he obtain'd that Name in the 39th Year of *Horace's* Age: but in the following Poems he is always call'd *Augustus*. Hence it is, that in his *Sermones* and *Epodes*, he always describes himself a young Man, and that he says he was then famous only for his Satyrs, as *Virgil* was for his *Bucolicks*, (*Serm. I. 10. v. 46.*) without making any Mention of his Lyrics. But in every one of the rest he gives the most evident Marks of a ripper Age. The Reader must certainly be very much pleas'd to observe this from the Series that I have demonstrat'd to him; since in his youth;

bus Juvenilibus multa obscœna & flagitiosa in-
 sint; quanto annis provector erat, tanto cum &
 poetica virtute & argumentorum dignitate gra-
 vitateque meliorem castioremque semper evasis-
 se. Ceterum ubicumque viri doctissimi extra li-
 mites hic positos in assignandis temporibus eva-
 gantur, toties illi in errores prolabuntur. Facile
 quidem mihi foret id in singulis ostendere; verum
 unum modo alterumve hic attingam; cetera tuæ
 industriae relinquens, Libri I Carmen 21, Dia-
 nam tenerae dicite Virgines, perperam Saecula-
 re vocant, & ad Horatii annum XLIX referunt;
 ringente Suetonio, qui tres Carminum libros lon-
 go intervallo eum annum præcessisse testatur.
 Atqui nihil quicquam hic de Saecularibus ludis
 proditur; sed aut ad Dianae aut Apollinis festum
 spectat, quorum illud mense Augusto, hoc Julio
 singulis annis celebrabatur. Eodem pertinet Ca-
 tullus Carmen XXXV, Dianae sumus in fide, quod
 Saeculare etiam a viris doctis pessime inscribi-
 tur; cum nihil ibi de Saeculo habeatur, isque diu
 diem obierit ante Ludos Augusti Saeculares. Tum
 & II, 17, Ad Maecenatem ægrotum, immo
 parachronismo ad Horatii annum LV ultra libri
 quarti tempora ablegant; idque levi & futili ar-
 gumento, quod eo anno continua insomnia vexari
 coepit

youthful Works, there are many things both obscene and profane; whereas according as he grew in Years, he became better as to his poetical Skill, and chaster as to the Dignity and Gravity of his Subject. But if the most learned Men go but an Ace without the Bounds I have set in assigning these Dates, they will most certainly fall into Blunders. It were easy for me to shew this in every one of them; but I shall content my self with just mentioning one or two, and leave the Reader to do with the rest the best he can. The 21st *Carmen* of the first Book, *Dianam tenerae dicite virgines*, is falsely call'd *Saeculare*, and said to have been writ in the 49th Year of *Horace*; for *Suetonius* is positive the three Books of the *Carmina* appear'd a long time before that Year. Nor is there any Mention hereof in the *Secular Games*; but the Poem relates either to the Feast of *Diana*, or that of *Apollo*, the former of which was celebrated every Year in *August*, and the latter in *July*. *Catullus* has the same View in his XXXVth *Carmen*, *Dianae sumus in fide*; which is also very foolishly inscrib'd *Carmen Saeculare* by learned Men; whereas there is no Mention of any such in that Place, and he died long before the *Secular Games*, in the Days of *Augustus*. Then the *Carmen* II. 17. *ad Maecentem aegrotum*, is, by a very great Mistake in Chronology, brought down beyond the Date of the IVth Book to the 55th Year of *Horace's* age, and that by a very empty and frivolous reason, viz. Because on that Year, *Maecenas* began to be tormented with a perpetual want

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coeperit Maecenas triennio ante diem fatalem.
 Quasi vero non plus semel in tam longa vita aegrotaverit, quem Plinius major VII, 51, perpetua febre ab adolescentia laborasse tradidit. Illud vero in Sermone VI, libri 2, Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra Praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure daturus? non, ut volunt, ad pugnam Aëtiam annumque Flacci XXXV referendum erat, nec ad Philippensem annumve XXIV: quippe de agrorum divisione hic agitur, quae post Siculam de Pompeio victoriam & Lepidi deditiōem in Campania alibique facta est, anno Flacci XXXI, ut disertis verbis narrat Dio p. 455, 457, Plutarchus Antonio p. 941, Paterculus II, 81; & Appianus p. 1176. Alia omnia pari facilitate refutarentur; sed his fuere & vale.

FINIS.

P R E F A C E. 35

of Sleep, which was three Years before his Death: As if he had never been Sick but once during his whole long Life: whereas *Pliny* the elder tells us, *Lib. VII. 15.* That from his Youth he had been afflicted with a continual Fever: But that in *Serm. VI. Lib. 2. Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra Praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure datus?* does not relate to the *African* Battel, and the 35th Year of *Horace's* Age, as some would have it, nor to the Battel at *Philippi*, and in his 24th Year, for here he is speaking of the Division of the Land, which was made after *Pompey* was beat in *Sicily*, and *Lepidus* was taken Prisoner in *Campania*, in the Year of *Horace* 31, as *Dion* says in so many Words, pag. 456, 457. *Plutarch.* in *Anton.* p. 941. *Paterculus*, 11, 81. and *Appian*, p. 1176: I could with the same Ease refute all the Mistakes about the rest; but I hope the Reader will be contented with this Specimen.

The END.

